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INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 HA-09 H-01
TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 SNP-00
SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 RPE-01 /040W

O 231356Z DEC 93

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5372

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04561

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RW, US

SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: TARGET DATE DEC. 29

REF: KIGALI 4506

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04561 01 OF 03 231403Z 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE FOREIGN MINISTER ANNOUNCED TO DIPLOMATS PLANS TO INSTALL THE TRANSITION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT DECEMBER 29. HOWEVER, CONTINUING SPLITS IN KEY POLITICAL PARTIES ARE TEMPERING ENTHUSIASM IN THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY FOR THE STABILITY OF WHATEVER GOVERNMENT MAY BE INSTALLED. SKEPTICISM AND ANXIETY PREVAIL IN THE RWANDAN COMMUNITY. RECOMMEND AGAINST WASHINGTON SENDING REPRESENTATIVE TO CEREMONIES BECAUSE OF

CONTINUING UNCERTAINTIES AND LIKELIHOOD OF CONTESTED GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

DATES SET

3. FOREIGN MINISTER GASANA CONFIRMED TO DIPLOMATS FOLLOWING A MEETING DECEMBER 23 THAT RPF CIVILIANS AND SOLDIERS WILL BE HOUSED IN THE HOTEL ADJACENT TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HALL. THIS VENUE WAS FINALLY ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES, BUT THE RPF'S LAST MINUTE BID TO OCCUPY THE ENTIRE FACILITY, INCLUDING THE MEETING ROOMS OF THE ASSEMBLY BUILDING, WAS DENIED. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT THEIR OCCUPANCY OF THE FACILITY IS TO BEGIN DECEMBER 26. (NOTE: THIS CONFORMS TO INFORMATION EMBASSY HAD EARLIER FROM UNAMIR THAT THE RPF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN LEADERS WOULD COME TO TOWN IN TWO GROUPS DECEMBER 26 AND 27. END NOTE.)

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KIGALI 04561 01 OF 03 231403Z PAGE 03 4. THE FOREIGN MINISTER TOLD THE ASSEMBLED DIPLOMATS THAT PLAWS ARE MOVING AHEAD FOR INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS NEXT WEEK. HE SAID THE PRESIDENT WILL SWEAR IN THE DEPUTIES OF THE TRANSITION NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (NA) THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 29. IN THE AFTERNOON HE WILL SWEAR IN THE NEW PRIME MINISTER AND THE MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT IS THEN EXPECTED TO HOLD ITS FIRST CABINET SESSION ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30. (NOTE: FOREIGN MINISTER MADE NO MENTION OF THE PRESIDENT TAKING AN OATH OF OFFICE. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE PEACE ACCORD THE PRESIDENT, WHOSE CURRENT TERM OF OFFICE ENDS AT THE END OF THE YEAR, WOULD TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT. END NOTE.)

POLITICAL PREPARATIONS

5. THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE, FAUSTIN
TWAGIRAMUNGU, MET DECEMBER 22 WITH PRESIDENT
HABYARIMANA TO ONCE AGAIN REVIEW THE PREPARATIONS FOR
INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS.
ACCORDING TO RADIO REPORTS, TWAGIRIMUNGU CALLED ON

THE PRESIDENT AND THE RPF TO CREATE A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE TO PREPARE THE POPULATION FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. THE PRESIDENT CALLED ON TWAGIRAMUNGU TO RESPECT THE CALENDAR FOR INSTALLING THE TRASITION INSTITUTIONS. TWAGIRAMUNGU HAS SAID THAT THE PROGRAM OF HIS GOVERNMENT WILL BE THAT WHICH IS OUTLINED IN THE PEACE ACCORD: NATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04561 01 OF 03 231403Z RECONCILIATION, RECONSTRUCTION, REINTEGRATION OF DISPLACED PEOPLE, AND RETURN OF REFUGEES.

6. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO INDICATION THAT EITHER TWAGIRAMUNGU'S PARTY, THE MDR, OR THE LIBERAL PARTY (PL) ARE ANY CLOSER TO PRESENTING UNANIMOUS SLATES FOR MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS AND DEPUTIES TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE RIFTS IN BOTH PARTIES REMAIN SERIOUS. IT'S NOT CLEAR TO THIS EMBASSY OR TO THE FRENCH AND THE BELGIANS EXACTLY HOW THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE PLANS TO NAME A GOVERNMENT UNDER

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O 231356Z DEC 93 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5373
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
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YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RW, US

SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: TARGET DATE DEC. 29

THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. SHOULD TWAGIRAMUNGU FORM A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE DISMAS FACTION CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04561 02 OF 03 231405Z OF HIS PARTY AND WITH ONLY ONE FACTION OF THE PL, THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE CONTESTED, WEAK, AND POSSIBLY SHORT-LIVED.

7. THE RIFT IN THE LIBERAL PARTY BECAME MORE COMPLEX LAST WEEKEND WHEN THE MUGENZI FACTION ELECTED A NEW SLATE OF DEPUTIES. THIS NEW LIST HAS ONLY ONE NAME IN COMMON WITH THE DEPUTIES ELECTED BY THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP LAST SEPTEMBER, BEFORE THE PARTY SPLIT CAME INTO THE OPEN. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE DECEMBER 22, MINISTER OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS LANDO NDASINGWA CALLED ONCE AGAIN FOR DIALOGUE TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT WITHIN THE PARTY. HE ALSO MADE ANOTHER PITCH FOR LEGITIMACY OF THE PL DEPUTIES ELECTED IN SEPTEMBER, SAYING THAT A COUNTRY CANNOT TALK ABOUT THE RULE OF LAW IF ELECTED POLITICIANS ARE DEPRIVED OF THE POSTS TO WHICH THEY ARE ELECTED. ON THE SAME DAY MUGENZI SUGGESTED PUBLICLY HIS DEPUTIES WOULD BE ACCEPTED INTO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, NOTING THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE THE FINAL ARBITER.

TENSIONS HIGH

8. DESPITE THE AFFIRMATION OF BOTH THE FOREIGN
MINISTER AND RECENTLY BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE THAT THE TRANSITION
INSTITUTIONS WILL BE PUT INTO PLACE BEFORE THE END OF
THE YEAR, RWANDANS REMAIN SKEPTICAL. ON THE ONE HAND
MANY ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE ARRIVAL IN KIGALI OF THE
RPF. A SURVEY CONDUCTED BY THE HARDLINE RADIO RTLM
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 DETERMINED THAT PEOPLE VIEWED HOUSING THE RPF IN THE
 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMPLEX AS A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY
 AND TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE LEGISLATURE. THE
 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TOLD VIRTUALLY NOTHING ABOUT WHAT TO
 EXPECT WITH THE ARRIVAL OF THE RPF SOLDIERS AND
 CIVILIANS.
- 9. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS REPORT THAT TENSIONS ARE HIGH THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THEY CLAIM THAT THE INTRAHAMWE, THE YOUTH WING OF THE MRND, IS "DEPLOYED" THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, CREATING A CLIMATE OF INSECURITY. THEY ALSO CLAIM THAT RWANDAN MILITARY "EXTREMISTS" ARE TRAINING THE INTRAHAMWE AT SPECIFIC SITES AROUND THE COUNTRY. THEY SAY THAT ADDING TO THE INSECURITY IS HARASSMENT AND SOMETIMES ARRESTS OF SUSPECTED RPF SYMPATHIZERS. THE COUNTRY'S CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR TOLD CHARGE HE HAD REPORTS THAT THE MILITARY BEAT PERSONS SUSPECTED OF RPF LINKS IN A TOWN NOT FAR FROM KIGALI. HE SAID HE RELEASED FROM JAIL EARLIER THIS WEEK FIVE PERSONS ARRESTED BY THE MILITARY ON SUCH CHARGES.

MRND REASSURES CHARGE

10. COUNSELOR TO THE PRESIDENT, PROFESSOR RUNYINYA, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE ARUSHA PEACE TALKS, CALLED ON CHARGE DECEMBER 23 TO ASSURE THE UNITED STATES THAT PRESIDENT HABYIARIMANA IS COMMITTED TO THE PROCESS AND INTENDS FOR THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS TO BE PUT IN PLACE ON SCHEDULE. HE SAID HE IS IN FACT CONFIDENTIAL

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ALREADY DRAFTING THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH FOR THE
SWEARING-IN OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. PROFESSOR
RUNYINYA WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT WE NOT
BELIEVE RUMORS CIRCULATING TO THE CONTRARY. CHARGE
THAMKED THE PROFESSOR FOR HIS ASSURANCES AND
SUGGESTED THAT THE BEST WAY TO COUNTER THE RUMORS
MIGHT BE TO FOCUS ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING TO HELP
REASSURE THE POPULATION ABOUT THE ARRIVAL OF THE RPF
AND INSTALLATION OF THE NEW INSTITUTIONS. HE DENIED
THAT THE INTRAHAMWE MIGHT BE ENGAGED IN
COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES AND CLAIMED TO BE

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5374

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

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UNAWARE OF HARASSMENT OR ARRESTS OF PEOPLE SUSPECTED OF RPF SYMPATHIES.

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11. COMMENT: SKEPTICISM AND INSECURITY ARE
CHARACTERISTIC IN RWANDA BEFORE MAJOR STEPS FORWARD
IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND DEMOCRATIZATION. REPORTS OF
MILITARY HARASSMENT OF SUSPECTED RPF "SYMPATHIZERS"
AND THE POTENTIAL FOR INTRAHAMWE DESTABLIZATION
ACTIVITIES CANNOT BE TAKEN LIGHTLY, DESPITE MRND
REASSURANCES. NEVERTHELESS, EMBASSY BELIEVES UNAMIR
HAS EFFECTIVELY DISCOURAGED POTENTIAL SABOTEURS. WE
ARE OPTIMISTIC POLITICAL UNCERTAINTIES WILL BE
OVERCOME -- IF NOT RESOLVED -- IN TIME FOR THE
TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS TO BE SWORN IN NEXT WEEK.
THE RESULT, HOWEVER, COULD BE A CONTESTED GOVERNMENT
AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. AND, EVEN THEN, THE DATE
COULD SLIP.

12. RECOMMENDATION: THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDAN HAS MADE NO MOVE TO INVITE PERSONS FROM ABROAD FOR THIS CEREMONY. NONE OF THE WESTERN MISSIONS HAVE PLANS FOR REPRESENTATION FROM CAPITALS AT THE INSTALLATION. AMBASSADORS OF BOTH FRANCE AND BELGIUM BELIEVE SUCH REPRESENTATION COULD SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE, BUT WOULD HESITATE IF THE GOVERNMENT IS CONTESTED: SUPPORT FOR TWAGIRAMUNGU IN THE FACE OF CHALLENGE COULD SEND THE WRONG SIGNAL. GIVEN THIS, AND THE POTENTIAL FOR SLIPPAGE IN THE DATE, WE SUGGEST A WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE NOT PLAN TO ATTEND THE CEREMONY.

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